THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XIX — No. 52 | 267 | NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1955 | PRICE: 10 Cents

Kutcher Wins Court Decision In Housing Case

The government's persecution of James Kutcher, the legless veteran, received a setback in the New Jersey Supreme Court on Dec. 19. The four justices of that court unanimously ruled against the attempt to evict Kutcher and his aged parents from a Newark housing project because of the son's admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

Though the judges refused to rule on the constitutionality of the Gwinn Amendment, under which the eviction was attempted, the limited decision was nonetheless a victory for Kutcher and for all residents of federal low-rent housing projects.

Kutcher's parents, the legal tenants, never belonged to any of the proscribed political organizations, but they could not sign the oath because it required that no member of the family living in the apartment belonged to a blacklisted organization. On Dec. 18, 1952, they were ordered to kick out their legless son within three days or face eviction.

Kutcher's aged parents decided to fight. The American Civil Liberties Union took the case as a test of the vicious Gwinn Amendment. Last October a New Jersey Superior Court judge ruled against the would-be evicters on the technical grounds that the drawing up of the "subversive" list form for tenants had changed the categories of the Attorney General's original list.

The government appealed this ruling to the State Supreme Court. This court upheld the previous ruling, indeed, it went a little bit beyond it by declaring that mere membership in a blacklisted organization was not by itself sufficient to justify eviction.

MAY TRY NEW EVICTION

The ruling does not foreclose the opportunity of having the basic constitutional question involved — whether the government has the right to kick people out of their homes for political reasons — ruled on in a later case. That the Kutcher Housing Case may be the vehicle for this test was indicated by a Newark Housing Authority press release the next day.

This announced that Newark officials were conferring with higher-ups in Washington about an appeal of the decision to the federal courts. The alternative would be redrafting the oath questionnaire and a second attempt to evict the Kutcher family on the basis of the new form.

Further attempts to deprive Kutcher of his home are to be expected one way or another. This is in keeping with the government's vindictive persecution of the World War II veteran, whose legs were blasted off in combat in Italy. He was fired from his job with the Newark Veterans Administration in 1948, one of the earliest victims of the witch hunt.

Since then he has constantly been fighting for a legal test of his firing. His case is unique in that it challenges the very basis of the whole witch hunt against federal employees.

Kutcher has always proudly admitted SWP membership, and maintains that the blacklisting of the SWP was illegal because it was given no notification, no hearing, and no opportunity to defend itself.

After having gone up and down the administrative-hearing federal-court legal ladder, and won important technical victories en route, Kutcher's case is at present on the calendar of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Washington, D.C. A ruling on the basic constitutional points is hoped for when the case is heard in a few weeks.

L. A. Ousts Anti-Negro Fire Chief

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 18 — Los Angeles' Negro-hating fire chief, John H. Alderson, was finally suspended from his job Thursday for insubordination, after a two-year-long fight by the NAACP against his segregation policies.

During this entire time, Alderson ran rough-shod over the specific directives of the mayor and his direct superiors, the Board of Fire Commissioners; wore out one board and nearly wore out the present one — and got away with it.

Wily and determined, taking advantage of the timidity and weaknesses of the board members, the fire chief grudgingly after lengthy delays transferred a handful of Negro firemen from the two Jim Crow stations to "white" stations, permitted them to be subjected to every type of humiliation and indignity, disciplined white firemen who dared be friendly to the Negroes, and finally ended his scandalous career by transferring back to the Central avenue stations the half dozen or so Negroes who had been "integrated."

Even this act of open defiance, however, was not sufficient to cause his automatic suspension. He was tripped up by his refusal to sign an order directing every one in the department to cooperate with a special investigator hired by the commissioners to probe the question of discrimination in the Fire Department set-up.

At this point his insubordination was so glaring that even his one stooge on the board, Commissioner Robert A. Day, had to admit that the chief had overreached himself. He, nevertheless, pleaded against the suspension order.

"It's like kicking a man when he is down," he said. "I agree the chief was insubordinate, but I still see no reason why after 30 years, with a clean record, the chief should be subjected to such an insult. After all, we're dealing with a human being."

Day, of course, like Alderson, never concerned himself with the

(Continued on page 3)

Score Against Witch Hunters

Hyman Kutcher and his son James in the home from which they faced eviction two years ago. Although he belonged to no organization on the government black list, Mr. Kutcher could not sign the housing loyalty oath demanded of him because James is an admitted member of the Socialist Workers Party. Now 75-years-old, the father of the legless veteran is also an amputee. Last week the New Jersey Supreme Court ruled in favor of the witch-hunt victims.

Gov't Throws Anti-Red Law At Westinghouse Strikers

Protest Fare Rise

Montreal police arrested 104 students demonstrating against recent increase in fares. It was reported 40 were injured, and 172 streetcars and 62 buses were virtually demolished in the "worst rioting" in the Canadian city's history. In picture above, good-natured streetcar conductor grins as demonstrators pull down the trolley rope. Following the demonstration the Canadian Confederation of Labor, Catholic Confederation of Labor and the Quebec Federation of Labor decided to organize a boycott of the city-owned transportation system every Friday.

Burn Racist Governor in Effigy

Students at Georgia Tech demonstrated and burned effigy of Gov. Marvin Griffin in protest against his efforts to rule out Sugar Bowl football game in New Orleans Jan. 2 because opposing team of the University of Pittsburgh has a Negro fullback. Students at other Southern schools followed up with similar protest demonstrations. The Georgia Tech demonstration occurred Dec. 2. Three days later the State Board of Regents voted to permit Georgia Tech to keep its contract to play the Sugar Bowl game but adopted a policy to bar such games in the future.

India Delegate Scores Meany

By Shirley Clark

The head of the new merged labor movement, George Meany, made a reactionary speech on foreign policy, Dec. 13, that shocked his audience of 1,200 clergymen and unionists at the annual social-justice award luncheon of the National Religion and Labor Foundation and brought a hot protest from the delegate representing labor in India.

Meany picked up the McCarthyite charge that liberals are really anti-anti-communist. He accused them of having "subconscious and conscious regard for communism as a movement with which they have something in common."

He charged that the deal made by the United Nations to admit new members was "appeasement of the worst kind." This makes Meany a critic of the Eisenhower administration from the right.

Then as if he were completely unaware of the fact that his audience was composed of members of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, including representatives of India and other colonial countries that have been struggling against imperialism, Meany struck at Nehru and Tito as "aides and allies of communism in fact and in effect, if not in diplomatic verbiage."

The head of the Indian National Trade Union Congress, K. T. Tripathi, immediately protested to the executive board of the ICFTU. He also asked representatives of U.S. labor to express their opposition to Meany's position. And finally he wrote Meany suggesting "that if you think proper that anything should be done by you and your organization, you may do it."

Walter Reuther also spoke at the meeting. But he is a little more skilled demagogue. He had the tact to declare that the U.S. has to earn the right to lead the "free world" by ending "its own ugly and immoral practices in race relations."

Reuther's diplomatic talent, of course, doesn't change the fact that his record isn't much better than Meany's.

"I am all for a fight to the finish against racialism in our own midst. Racialism is damnable and detestable in any form." Meany said. "But racialism in reverse, as now propagated in India and Burma by Khrushchev and Bulganin is just as reprehensible."

If Meany really meant that he is for a fight to the finish against "racialism in our own midst," he might explain why he has tolerated Jim Crow locals in the American Federation of Labor for so many years. He might also explain what he has done about the terror that exists in Mississippi, or what he proposes to do about it. He might explain why he is lined up with the Southern racists in the Democratic Party instead of fighting them "to the finish."

Meany might further explain why U.S. labor under his guidance has not lifted its powerful voice against the British massacre of the people of Kenya. Or why he hasn't spoken out against U.S. assistance to France in its war against the people of North Africa.

What has Meany done about defending the labor movement in Guatemala? The truth is that he backed the U.S.-sponsored holy war against communism that put a dictator in power and crushed the unions.

At the convention of the National Association of Manufacturers just a few weeks ago Meany responded to an anti-labor attack by dissociating himself from labor's ranks—"I never went on strike . . . never had anything to do with a picket line." Now he dissociates himself from the liberals who do not back the witch hunt energetically enough to suit Meany. All this—in the hope of buying the good will of the billionaires.

Still, Meany is now the head of the entire U.S. labor movement. The AFL-CIO will bear the responsibility for these cowardly, servile policies as long as he stays in that position.

CP HEADS CROSSED OFF OLD-AGE PENSION LIST

Paid employes of the Communist Party are no longer eligible for social security benefits, according to an August ruling of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The decision was made public, Dec. 14, when the Department instructed state social security offices to stop payment.

These instructions said, "The office of the general counsel of this department has ruled that service for the Communist Party is service in the employ of a foreign government, and as such is not covered by the Social Security Act."

Alexander Bittelman, a 66-year-old Communist Party leader, now serving a three-year prison term after being convicted under the Smith "Gag" Act, was one of the first victims. He was receiving a pension of $88.10 a month. He kept $10 for himself for items in the prison commissary. The rest went to support his wife.

The ruling ends 20 years of administering the Social Security Act on a non-partisan basis. It destroys the spirit and the letter of that act and subjects the old-age security of all to the whims of whatever political party is in power.

(See editorial page 3.)

Workers Rally Against Blow; Score Brownell As Top Strikebreaker

By Myra Tanner

DEC. 21 — Fifty-six thousand Westinghouse strikers were presented with quite a Christmas present by the government yesterday. Herbert Brownell Jr., Attorney General, in behalf of Eisenhower's Department of Justice, filed a petition with the Subversive Activities Control Board asking that the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, Independent, representing 11,000 of these strikers, be declared a "subversive" organization.

The government is acting under the Communist Control Law of 1954 against a union with a total membership of around 100,000. This law, passed in August 1954, created a new category of organizations to be persecuted by the witch hunt: Communist "infiltrated" unions. The government chose to invoke this infamous new repressive law in the ninth week of the Westinghouse strike involving 11,000 UE members and 45,000 members of the International Union of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO.

Brownell's immediate objective is to weaken the morale of the strikers and aid Westinghouse in its back-to-work strikebreaking campaign.

Albert J. Fitzgerald, U. E. president, immediately replied by denouncing Brownell as the "nation's number one strikebreaker."

FEAR GROWING UNITY

In addition, Fitzgerald pointed out that "Brownell's hypocritical red-baiting is designed to cover up the Westinghouse Corporation's fear of growing unity between UE and IUE-CIO Westinghouse workers on strike from coast to coast."

This charge was borne out by the Justice Department's petition to the SACB which noted that reports have appeared within the last few months that some UE locals have merged with the IUE. "More recently," the petition added, "top-level conferences have been negotiated looking toward amalgamation on a larger scale with CIO-AFL."

Re-unifying the two unions involved in the strike would strengthen the workers' struggle immeasurably. For the same reason it would constitute a powerful blow to the union-busting plans of the Westinghouse Corporation. Brownell's move is designed to ward off this blow to the company.

This open strikebreaking action of the federal government climaxes Westinghouse's carefully planned union-busting drive. Last month the company began a 'back-to-work movement to break the strike. It spent hundreds of thousands of dollars on newspaper ads, radio and TV time to pressure the workers into scabbing.

It offered special bribes in the form of advance pay, individual selection of working hours, transportation to and from work, etc. Finally it offered Christmas loans of $100, interest free, in an obvious bid for good-will for the company.

GETS CHURCH BACKING

In Sharon, Pa., the company mobilized the church in its back-to-work campaign. A committee

(Continued on page 2)

At Rights Probe

Asst. Army Sec. Hugh M. Milton (top) quizzed at Senate subcommittee hearings on unfairness of security discharges. James Shuetz (bottom), United Auto Workers official, testified that his security clearance was lifted in 1950 because he was a "good union man."

Civil Liberties Battle Is Yet to be Won

By Art Sharon

Has the post-war erosion of civil liberties in America neared its end? The impression is widespread that this is the case. For instance, the group of 46 liberals, including Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, who petitioned Eisenhower for a Christmas amnesty for victims of the Smith Act, asserted that there has been a recent "noticeable trend to reaffirm the basic democratic traditions of our country."

It is true that there have been some favorable developments. Outstanding among them is the political eclipse of Senator McCarthy.

The courts, influenced apparently by labor and liberal opinion, have given some encouraging decisions as in the dismissal of the government case against Harry Bridges, the slap at passport denials in the Shachtman case, and so on.

The administration has also retreated here and there — the Lundy case, Chasanow case, Ladejinsky, etc.

Moreover, the government use of faceless accusers and informers fared badly the past year. Harvey Matusow's confession was followed by several others and the whole sordid story of government-sponsored stool pigeonry became much better known.

However, a sober appraisal of the exact status of the assault on civil liberties must begin with the fact that the administrative and legislative foundations of the witch hunt remain intact.

First of all, there is the use of the Attorney General's "subversive" list. This was initiated by Truman under his infamous "Loyalty" Order of 1947. While the list has been called into question by courts on several occasions, it remains the basic guide for witch hunters both in government and private industry.

The Smith Act of 1940, making it a crime to "teach" or to "advocate," etc., etc., continues to claim its victims. First used 14 years ago against the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party on the eve of World War II, it was declared constitutional by the Supreme Court in June 1951. Chances for its repeal are slim at present.

USED AGAINST UNIONS

The McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 continues, despite its many manifest absurdities, to be an important weapon in the hands of the government witch hunters.

The Humphrey-Butler Communist Control Act of 1954 is the newest legislation giving sweeping power to the witch hunters. This act has just been used to arraign the independent Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union. Now Brownell is using it in a strikebreaking action in behalf of Westinghouse.

The fact is that the screening and purging of government departments and of private industry has been so thoroughgoing and so far-reaching that the witch hunt has been running out of victims. This alone would account for a good part of the lull.

The witch hunt reached such irrational and monstrous excesses that a public reaction set in. This caused the witch hunters to proceed more cautiously. They are choosing their victims now with greater care.

In the final analysis, what most directly determines the tempo of the witch hunt is Washington's foreign policy. This has undergone fluctuations.

At the height of the Korean war and shortly afterward the drive against civil liberties was at its peak. The American ruling class prepared for war against the Soviet bloc with a thought-control campaign against the American people. The objective was to intimidate any existing or potential opposition to its war course.

With the Soviet development of nuclear weapons and with revolution shaking the colonial world, the war drive had to be slowed down. The Geneva conference marked an easing of tensions abroad that coincided with the easing of the witch-hunt pressure at home.

Now we note that the Eisenhower administration is announcing resumption of the cold war. Does this also signify a stepping up of the tempo of the witch hunt?

Expressions of joy over the improved climate for civil liberties are obviously premature. It would be difficult to make a greater mistake than to view the tactical retreat of the witch hunters as the definitive victory for civil liberties that America needs today.

Banquet Observes Bill of Rights

By John Thayer

NEW YORK — The 184th Anniversary of the adoption of the first ten amendments to the U.S. Constitution — the Bill of Rights — was celebrated by 1,000 defenders of civil liberties at a banquet in the Capitol Hotel on Dec. 15. The highly successful and spirited gathering was sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, an organization which defends the constitutional rights of all regardless of race, creed or political belief.

The banquet was addressed by Prof. Owen Lattimore, one of McCarthy's outstanding victims. Other speakers were Mrs. Andrew Simpkins, head of the embattled South Carolina National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Harvey O'Connor, of the First Amendment test case and chairman of the ECLC, and Clark Foreman, Director of the ECLC.

In addition, numerous witch-hunt victims spoke a few words from the floor. Among these were Dr. Otto Nathan, Einstein's executor; Anne Braden of the Louisville "sedition" frame-up; Corliss Lamont of the First Amendment case; several of the Fort Dix Eight — GI's faced with undesirable discharges because of pre-induction associations; Dr. Slochower of the academic freedom fight in New York; Steve Nelson and other Communist Party victims of the Smith Act; industrial and entertainment workers victimized by the spreading "loyalty" purge; and many others.

The total effect of this dramatic sampling of witch-hunt victims was to impress the audience with the scope of the attack on the Bill of Rights as well as with the growing number of those with courage to fight back.

The banquet served to launch the ECLC's drive for $100,000, the figure it has set for its 1956 budget. Large contributions made from the floor exceeded $20,000. In addition there was a collection and profit on the banquet for which the charge was $7.50 per person.

The main speaker, Owen Lattimore, Far Eastern expert, spoke on "Fear and Foreign Policy." His premise was a very conservative one — that the United States should have the best foreign service possible. This, he said, was prevented by the atmosphere of fear resulting from the witch hunt. U.S. foreign service officers no longer dare write reports with facts or predictions which might be displeasing to higher-ups in the State Department or which, at some later date, might attract the attention of a "loyalty" investigator snooping through the files.

Consequently, Lattimore said, the U.S. today has the least-informed foreign service, especially about the Far East. He attributed Dulles' recent diplomatic setback over the Goa statement and the "package deal" of admissions to the UN to this fear-induced ignorance.

The other important observance of Bill of Rights Day was held at Manhattan Center by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. This is an organization composed of the leaders of the NAACP, the AFL-CIO and 49 other national organizations — labor, religious, veteran, civic and fraternal.

In the past it has sponsored Civil Rights Mobilizations in Washington, D.C. Early in the coming year it will call a mobilization in Washington which — it is hoped — will force federal action on the reign of terror in Mississippi.

Its mass meeting was disappointingly small. Five to six hundred people attended and the hall was two-thirds empty. Senator Lehman was the main speaker. He told the audience that he was being "realistic and not pessimistic" in predicting that little if any civil-rights legislation would be passed by the next session of Congress. Republican City Councilman Isaacs also spoke and the son of Republican Senator Irving Ives read a message from his father supporting civil rights in general.

The meeting passed resolutions urging Congress to remove Mississippi Senator Eastland and other members of Congress who seek to circumvent the Supreme Court's rulings. It also urged Gov. Harriman to refuse to extradite Rev. Joseph Delaine, fighter for Negro rights, to South Carolina. The meeting welcomed Delaine to New York citizenship "as a refugee from oppression and persecution."

Should the ALP Be Dissolved According to Plan of Stalinists?

By Harry Ring

The Communist Party has taken another cautious step toward dissolving the American Labor Party in New York. The step is the opening of "discussion" on that proposition by Max Gordon in the Dec. 13 Daily Worker.

This follows the attack leveled by Gordon in two Daily Worker articles last month against the Progressive Party weekly, the National Guardian.

The Guardian had declared that if the Progressive Party does not run its own ticket in 1956 it will favor abstention in the elections. Gordon — knowing very well that the PP will not run its own candidates—pressed the Guardian to swallow the Stalinist line of campaigning for the Democrats.

Working over the same theme again in his current article, Gordon "thoughtfully" poses the difficulties—"how does the Left project and fight for its independent political program in the absence of an independent party and in the light of the coalition tactics discussed in the two articles?"

Note how Gordon blandly erases "an independent party," namely the ALP and injects his proposal to support the Democrats ("light of the coalition tactics discussed," etc. etc.)

Gordon handily solves the problem he raises: "First, a political party, while important, is not the only instrument of mass general political struggle. There have been other instruments for such struggle, organizations such as the Independent Citizens Committee of pre-Progressive Party days."

This statement constitutes part of the funeral music composed by the Stalinists for the ALP, since that section of the Progressive Party is the only one of substance still lacking the benefits of burial. Still, it is not immediately apparent that this is really the death music of the ALP, for Gordon cites the old Independent Citizens Committee —not mentioning the much fresher "Independent Committee for Political Action in 1956" which came from the dissolution of the California Independent Progressive Party last July. Did Gordon want to keep his tone soft and subdued so as not to alarm ALP members about Stalinist intentions in New York?

The Stalinists are determined to drag the Guardian supporters into the Democratic party with them. Formation of an "independent committee" is the gimmick with which they propose to do it.

The dirty business of providing a left cover for the Democrats is not new for the Stalinists. The ALP itself was formed in the first place in 1936 — as John Swift confessed in the May 1954 Political Affairs — to snare otherwise unobtainable left-wing votes for Roosevelt. The proposed "independent committee" today is needed by the Stalinists to dispose of the membership demand that the party run its own candidates in 1956 as it did in 1948 and 1952.

Gordon's main bait in trying to hook supporters of the Guardian is that they and the Stalinists "see eye to eye on basic programmatic questions." The fact that the Guardian seeks genuine independence from the major parties is dismissed as a "tactical difference."

On the decisive question of political principles, Gordon seeks to reassure the prospective suckers by affirming that while the Stalinists are hellbent on getting into the Democratic party, their program "differs fundamentally" from that of the two capitalist parties.

Does it "differ fundamentally"? Stripped of left verbiage, the Stalinist program reduces itself to "peaceful co-existence" and the historically exploded panaceas of pacifism and disarmament, plus demands for civil rights and economic security. Such a platform is nothing more than a rehash of the old New Deal program of Roosevelt and Wallace.

The inevitable evolution of the New Deal into the War Deal, as well as the perfidy of Wallace—both developments predicted by the Trotskyites — indicate how little merit and how much treachery such a program contains.

Belonging to an "independent" committee does not make it possible to embrace the Democrats without losing your purity, as the Stalinists contend. The Americans for Democratic Action are also "independent," yet serve as judas goats for the Democratic Party. The organizational autonomy of the ADA facilitates this cynical business.

The Stalinist claim of perspectives different from and in opposition to those of the major parties is deliberately patterned to appeal to the wishes of Progressive Party members who favor independent political action. But the real Stalinist aim is an alliance with at least a section of the capitalists — an alliance of the kind they enjoyed during World War II. And that's why they have set themselves up as recruiting sergeants for the Democrats: Remember what the boss says about demonstrating your abilities if you want to get ahead in the business world?

We cite but one of numerous declarations to prove the point. Discussing the CP's number one plank of "peaceful co-existence," William Z. Foster writes in the October issue of Political Affairs that he sees a rising peace movement which "will embrace not only workers and other democratic elements, but also important sections of the bourgeoisie, and even of monopoly capital itself."

Earl Browder, who was driven out of the CP for saying exactly the same thing, might derive a certain wry satisfaction from Foster's pronouncement, but there will be no satisfaction of any kind with the pronouncement among those who understand that the struggle against imperialist war is inseparable from the struggle against capitalism.

Progressive Party supporters of independent politics cannot evade the challenge put up to them by the Stalinists. And it must be said that if in truth they do accept the Stalinist program—do see "eye to eye" with Gordon—then they forfeit any realistic basis for defeating the "tactical" proposal of the Stalinists, for the Stalinist tactic flows quite consistently from the program of cuddling up to "important sections of the bourgeoisie, and even of monopoly capital itself."

The Stalinists are pulling a typical con man's swindle when they try to palm off objectives (peace, jobs, etc.) as program, and the means of realizing those objectives as "tactics." What the Stalinists picture as mere tactics happen to constitute the rock foundation of program.

Objectives, split away from the means of achieving them, are meaningless platitudes, as every capitalist politician demonstrates in every election. Who isn't for peace and jobs and all good things?

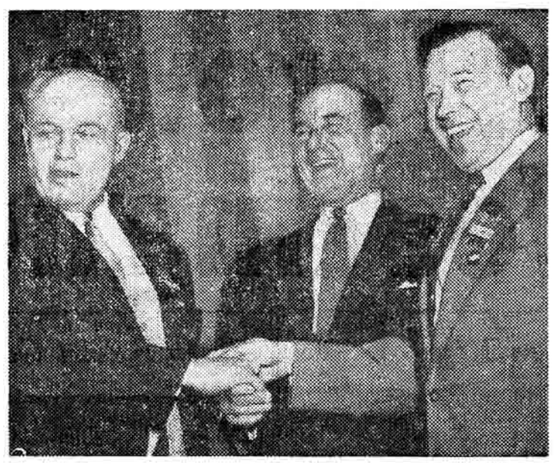
What is crucial is precisely the means proposed to achieve these ends. That's what determines program and especially its class content. Can peace and security be achieved through collaboration with the capitalist class? Or must they be won through uncompromising struggle against the capitalist class? Can the workers win emancipation by supporting the capitalist parties? Or must they build their own party? These are the most imperative questions of program.

To illustrate the meaning of program we point again to the projected 1956 campaign of the Socialist Workers Party. The point of departure for the SWP in that campaign will be the issues that the workers are thinking about today. But that is only the point of departure.

From there the task is to do everything possible to raise the class consciousness of the workers. The SWP candidates will tell the workers unambiguously that the fight against war, Jim Crow, the witch hunt and economic insecurity can be won only by uncompromising struggle against the politics of the capitalist class. The SWP candidates will persistently explain why labor must turn to independent political action, and push towards creation of a workers and farmers government.

In short, the SWP candidates will chart the road by which labor can really achieve its objectives. That is the only kind of program or tactic with a future.

Grinding a Democratic Axe



At merger convention of AFL-CIO, Adlai Stevenson poses for cameramen with George Meany (left), president of the new organization, and Walter Reuther (right), head of the industrial department. One of the objectives of the labor bureaucrats in the merger is to give Democrats a helping hand and detour sentiment for building a labor party. Stevenson hopes to be the beneficiary of these machinations.

The Story Behind "16 Tons"

The United Mine Workers Journal scored one of 1956's journalistic scoops when it printed a story by Merle Travis, composer of the song that is sweeping the country—"Sixteen Tons." The amazing popularity of this fine song is not only indicative of the fact that almost all Americans feel "another day older and deeper in debt" when they finish work today, but of the widespread acceptance of unionism and union ideas.

It is high time the public imagination was taken with the figure of the coal miner — who has waged such heroic battles against danger, company stores and thugs—for the miner is a symbol of labor militancy in America. We print below, with but a few omissions, Merle Travis' letter as it appeared in the Dec. 1 United Mine Workers Journal. — Ed.

* * *

In our home in Kentucky the miner's Journal ranked alongside the family Bible and the "wishbook" (Sears-Roebuck catalogue). So you can imagine the honor I've had in receiving a personal letter from its editor. Here are a few things that might answer your request concerning the birth of my song, "Sixteen Tons."

I was raised in the southwestern coal fields of Kentucky. My father was a miner in the little town of Beech Creek, in Muhlenberg County. The owner of the mine, or mines, (there were two openings) was a gentleman named Raymond Kirkpatrick. The two openings were known as "Number Five" and "Number Nine." From the latter came the reason for the line . . .

"I loaded sixteen tons of
Number Nine coal
And the strawboss hollered,
Well bless my soul'!"

Dad's whole name was William Robert Travis. He was a big jovial, red-faced fat man most people called Uncle Rob. Actually, he worked "on the outside" as a sulphur picker. The roar of the shakers finally affected his hearing and many is the time he'd call my brother John and myself out on the porch of the company farm we lived on, three miles from the Beech Creek, and say as he pulled from his overall pocket a huge Elgin watch, "Now boys, you've got better ears than I have, so listen for the whistle. I heard a coal-drag switchin' around over there today, and they jus' might run tomorrow."

When the whistle from ol' Number Five came drifting over the hills at five o'clock in the afternoon Dad would brighten up like a child anticipating a fishing trip only one night away. This didn't happen too often in the summer when the demand for coal was at its lowest ebb. At these times a gloom would shroud the big man like a gray sky before an all night drizzle. He'd return his watch to his pocket and remark, "Well boys, I reckon we'll hill them beans in the garden tomorrow."

When the opposite occurred, and the thin sound of the whistle drifted to our alert ears, it was a different scene. Uncle Rob Travis was a happy man. He'd kiss his watch, return it to his bib-pocket and say, "Well boys, looks like ol' man Kirkpatrick has peddled some more rocks." The Travis household was a brighter abode . . . But there was reason for gaiety. Tomorrow the mine was "runnin'" . . . Maybe work would pick up. But supper was wonderful with the cornbread, new potatoes, buttermilk, blackberry jam and the ever-present "Miner's Strawberries," — better known as soup beans.

Then there were the strikes! To us and all the people we knew it meant "Root, hog, or die!" I became well acquainted with the "aid-hall." There we'd go to get whatever was to be given in the way of food to the miners on strike. Just enough beans and salt-pork to keep body and soul together. It seemed a festive time to me as a boy in my early teens, for there were the mass-meetings. Hundreds would gather and sit on slabs of wood laid across carbide cans and listen to the speeches. The promise of miners becoming united was music to the ears of the miners and their wives, but the entertainment they'd have between speeches was more musical to my young ears.

I'll never forget four Negro boys by the name of the Dean Quartet (although one was named Doolin). With a sound that reminded me of an I.C. train whistle on a winter's night, they'd lean four black heads together and sing in perfect harmony.

The boys were not a professional group at all, but miners from nearby Drakesboro and Browder who had come to cheer the heavy hearts of workers in a little town of Beech Creek where Negroes were not allowed.

I have known the fruits of strikes. The bitter and the sweet. Hunger and music. Jokes and threats. Fist fights and murders!

Who deserves more credit than the wife of a coal miner? Mother was one. She never complained about the hardships that were hers in abundance . . .

There were four of us children —three boys and one girl. While I never worked in the mines, my two older brothers did . . . An electric motor pulling coal on the "lie-away" rolled him [Taylor, his oldest brother] against the "rib," the bulkhead of the interior of the mine, and practically broke every rib in his body, changed his whole life. He is now a machinist foreman in an industrial plant in Evansville, Ind.

My other brother, John, just drifted away from the coal fields and became a salesman in Evansville. My sister, Vada, is married to a man who is a happy, hard-working union miner in Muhlenberg County, Kentucky . . .

* * *

Most of the traditional folk songs had been recorded, so I set about composing songs of the album that spoke of the mines and miners. The album was called "Folk Songs of the Hills" by Merle Travis. It was a big success, I'm happy to say.

In the album were the following: "Muskrat," "Nine Pound Hammer," "Dark as a Dungeon," "John Henry," "Thats All," "Over by Number Nine," "I am a Pilgrim," and "Sixteen Tons."

I was flattered when the great authority on folk songs, and author of numerous books, mentioned my record album in his volume "Folk Song U.S.A.," as one of the most authentic and refreshing he'd ever heard. He's the great Alan Lomax.

Mr. B.A. Botkin, collector of American folklore for the Library of Congress, printed, word for word, in his volume "A Treasury of Southern Folklore," one of the songs from my little recorded effort. It was "Dark as a Dungeon":

"Where it's dark as a dungeon
and damp as the dew
Where the danger is double
and pleasures are few
Where the rain never falls and
the sun never shines
It's dark as a dungeon 'way
down in the mines . . ."

* * *

About a month ago he [Tennessee Ernie] recorded one of the songs from my album titled "Sixteen Tons." It made history. It sold a million records in shorter than any other record in musical history.

A few days ago Cliffie Stone, Ernie and I had an interview for a writeup in one of the nation's top news magazines. The three of us wondered just what it was, other than Tennessee Ernie's great version of the song, that would make the hundreds of thousands of people in every part of the nation sit up and take notice of a man who "owes his soul to the company store . . ."

We tossed it about for quite a while. Cliffie thought that perhaps it was because most everybody owed most of their money to some sort of "company store," but I don't think we ever really found an answer that is logical. We're just thankful that the song is so successful.

There's one thing I'm certain of. Things have changed. Coal mining is now an occupation to be proud of. A miner has the chance to provide his family with the things that were only a dream not long ago. The company store is a vendor of general merchandise which the miner pays for in U.S. currency and not brass tokens issued by the company he works for to constantly remind him that he's in debt.

The sinking sun no longer reminds the weary miner that he's — "Another day older and deeper in debt."

And when payday rolls around he can afford to answer Saint Peter, if he should call, and not have to explain — "I owe my soul to the company store . . ."

. . . I'm sure if the remaining dust of the now resting Aunt Etta and Uncle Rob Travis were brought again to flesh, they'd join in a song of praise for John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers of America.

. . . Gov't Throws Anti-Red Law

(Continued from page 1)

of clergymen tried to organize a "secret" ballot to determine who wanted to go back to work. In many cities the company has managed to find pliable judges to issue injunctions to prevent mass picketing. On Dec. 15, in Trenton, N.J., a squad of 30 cops tried to break up the picket line. Fourteen Westinghouse pickets were jailed.

With all of these measures and many more, the company was still unable to break the solid ranks of the strike. Then the federal government intervened—not as a defender of the majority of the people involved in the Westinghouse dispute — not as an impartial arbiter — but openly and unequivocally on the side of the corporation.

The Communist Control Act of 1954 that has now been used by Brownell was condemned by the whole labor movement as a "union-busting" bill when it was first introduced into Congress. Senator Lehman (D.-N.Y.) said the bill would "place in the hands of an Attorney General who might be antagonistic to labor, a powerful weapon to cripple labor, to break strikes."

Of course, the liberal Lehman and all the other Democratic senators, in fear of McCarthy, voted for the bill. But the argument that Lehman used, and dropped under fire, has now proved quite prophetic.

Brownell could have filed his petition any time since August 1954. Why did he choose precisely this moment when one of the most important and bitterly fought strikes in 1955 is taking place? The answer is obvious. The blow was timed for Christmas as an attempted knock-out punch against the strikers.

Brownell claims he wants to aid the 100,000 UE members to "clean their organization of Communist dictators." But the UE members on strike against Westinghouse are demonstrating like their fellow workers of the IUE that despite a bleak and hungry Christmas they want to clean the Westinghouse Corporation of its ruthless speed-up tyranny.

The very fact that the strike has remained solid after nine weeks of heavy pressure is proof that UE members are not dupes of "Communist conspirators," nor victims of "subversive" dictators. They are victims only of a Westinghouse plot to make more profits out of speed-up schemes and a union-busting campaign.

The Westinghouse workers are fighting a battle for the entire labor movement. If this Big Business outfit can get away with its strikebreaking drive, the working conditions in other industries will be undermined. Speed-up is an issue in every mass production factory. If the Westinghouse strikers succeed in stopping the speed-up it will aid the rest of the labor movement.

Many unions, outstandingly steel and auto, are now organizing financial help for the Westinghouse workers. The company has responded by bringing in the federal government as its ally. This must be answered by mobilizing the support of the entire working class on the side of the strikers.

The American Way of Life

Xmas Memo to Dulles

A few days before Christmas, Richard Rutter of the N. Y. Times reported that "America's greatest spending spree is reaching a smashing climax." There was so much money "cascading merrily" around that the problem became how to spend it. Or, as merchants put it, to find a Christmas gift "for the man who has everything."

The problem, of course, was solved with typical American efficiency. As the Wall Street Journal reports: "Never before has there been such a profusion of unusual Christmas gifts in the nation's stores.

This season's way of saying Merry Christmas with "the unusual," it occurred to me, might help Secretary of State Dulles meet the problem that lately seems to have been giving him increased trouble; namely, selling the "American Way of Life" abroad.

For instance, Dulles could try overcoming the effects of the Khrushchev--Bulganin tour in India by pointing out that America is interested in Indian culture and Indian products like no other country. This very Christmas one of America's biggest department stores—Wanamaker's in Philadelphia—featured a live baby elephant, Hannibal, as the perfect $7,800 gift "for the man who has everything."

Dulles could seek to make real pro-Americans out of the South Indians, whose diet generally consists of "rice and pepper water," by impressing them with the fact that Americans insist on a much better diet. So much better that an appreciated Christmas gift this year was a $100 14-karat, gold-plated can opener to get the diet out of cans.

And to the starving in India whom John Frederick Muehl describes as "lying by the roadway" with sunken eyes and swollen bellies "too listless to brush the flies from their lips," Dulles could give an inspirational account of Christmas in America where people are so prosperous they give each other jeweled fly swatters.

Dulles could try overcoming the resentment of the Mexican people toward Yankee imperialism by pointing out that Dallas, Texas, patronized Mexican products this Christmas, importing live burros with carts for really novel presents.

Perhaps Dulles could get the Chinese people to come to a more realistic valuation of the way of life in America, and understand better why Big Business supports Chiang-Kai-shek, by describing how mink-trimmed beer-can openers and mink-trimmed tooth brushes made Christmas gifts this year for "the man who has everything."

He might induce the Indochinese to forgive the fact that in their struggle for independence, Wall Street backed the French imperialists. He might do this by pleasantly hinting that although even in prosperous America people get hard feelings, the American way is to believe in peace and good will toward men. At Christmas, for instance, Americans this year made peace offerings to each other of oil cans lacquered in black, trimmed in sequins and labeled "Vermouth" or "Bitters." And for a real friendly glow they gave a "brandy stick" — a cane with a hollow big enough to hold a halft-pint.

Maybe Dulles could make the South Sea Islanders less bitter about the H-Bomb tests staged in their part of the world by the U.S. if he told them that the humanitarian interest in other lands displayed by some Americans now stops at no expense. As proof he could point to the "diplomatic classic globes" —identical to one owned by President Eisenhower—that were snapped up at Plummer, Ltd. of New York for $800 Christmas gifts.

And for the entire Christian world, Dulles could describe the dress-length night-gown that came in white, edged in gold, with "angel wings" stitched to the back that was a "best seller" this year. Real proof of how the Christian spirit is remembered in America, especially at Christmas time.

Finally to prove the superiority of the American way of life, Dulles might end by quoting the N.Y. Times: "Wall Street is winding up its biggest year since 1929 and the spirit of Christmas runs high." Naturally, Dulles should refrain from mentioning what followed 1929.

—Reba Aubrey

Hotel Workers Start Union Drive At Miami Beach

The AFL-CIO Hotel Workers Union has kicked off what it hopes will be the decisive phase of its organizing drive at Miami Beach, according to the Dec. 19 Wall Street Journal.

The union announced that agreement on a contract had been reached with the Seville, a new ocean-front hotel. It is only the fifth out of 385 Miami Beach hotels to sign up, but it is a major one with 300 rooms and an $8-million building.

Last summer, the Florida Supreme Court barred picketing at the 19 beach hotels on the union's unfair list. Union tactics now center around denying experienced professional help to the hotels. The union's 616 locals have been asked to warn their members who might seek winter work in Miami Beach that they can be fined or suspended if they work at hotels where a dispute is in progress.

International Vice-President Bert H. Ross announced that new picket lines may be thrown about three major hotels if they do not sign contracts by New Year's.

New York

Bring in the New Year
With your Socialist friends!

NEW YEAR'S EVE PARTY

- Music
- Favors
- Dancing
- Entertainment

Sat., Dec. 31, 9:30 P. M.

116 University Place
Donation: $1.25

Twin Cities

Celebrate with us!!!

NEW YEAR'S EVE BALL

- Fun!
- Favors!
- Smorgasbord!

Sat., Dec. 31, 9:00 P. M.

10 So. 4th Street
Minneapolis

Chicago

Make a date! Celebrate!

New Years Eve

With the Socialist Workers Party
Saturday, Dec. 31, 9 P.M. until?
Favors — Food — Frolic
777 W. Adams St.
Donation: $1.00

Philadelphia

Celebrate New Year's Eve With Us

Sat., Dec. 31 from 9 P. M. on

Entertainment
Refreshments
Good Food

The Militant Labor Forum
1303 Girard Ave.

Donation: 50c.

Cleveland Area Readers

•

Celebrate

NEW YEAR'S EVE

with the SWP
Sat., Dec. 31, 9:00 P. M.
10609 Superior Ave.
Dancing — Favors — Prizes
Refreshments
Donation $1.00

Subscription $3 per year: $1.50 for 6 months. Foreign: $4.50 per year; $2.25 for 6 months. Canadian: $3.50 per year; $1.75 for 6 months. Bundle Orders: 5 or more copies 6c each in U.S., 7c each in foreign countries.

THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7460
Editor: MURRY WEISS
Business Manager: ANNE CHESTER

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March 3, 1879."

Vol. XIX — No. 52 Monday, December 26, 1955

Operation Pickpocket

New York Post columnist Murray Kempton accused the government Dec. 15 of turning pickpocket when the Social Security Administration decided to withhold pension payments from retired functionaries of the Communist Party.

This is an accurate label, for the action is a plain case of theft. The social security law makes the government sole holder of the funds. It has no legal right to refuse to pay what the law required it to collect out of a worker's wages.

Social security legislation was passed in 1935. The law was framed to prevent these funds from being used for partisan purposes. It was designed to cover all without regard to race, color or creed on the simple and basic principle that everyone has a right to live.

The introduction of a political criterion now for payments is an ominious step toward destruction of the principle of impartial administration of the law. Payment of pensions is made to hinge on conformity with the political opinions of government bureaucrats who can change with every election.

The Social Security Administration did not confine itself to picking the pockets of a few retired Communist Party functionaries. It also issued a threat to all dissenters. In its letter of instructions to state offices it said: "The law does not bar payments to a Communist or to anyone convicted of a crime and sentenced to jail if the person otherwise qualifies for benefits. While from time to time, consideration has been given by the Congress to the possibility of legislation restricting payments in instances like these, such a provision has not been included in the law."

In other words, while it is illegal to demand political conformity before social insurance is paid, powerful figures in government have been considering making it legal. These figures are the type who think that a distinction between a liberal Democrat and a communist is idle hair-splitting, who think any militant unionist is an agent of the Kremlin and any union official a creeping socialist.

A worker deprived of the insurance he paid for will have the opportunity to seek justice in the courts, these reactionaries might argue. But under the witch hunt thousands have spent years in the up-hill battle to get their names cleared, their jobs back or to find new employment.

By the time a worker of 65 gets through the courts, if he can afford the legal battle for his old-age pittance, he will be lucky to have enough for funeral expenses.

The Taft-Hartley law struck the first big blow at the concessions won by the working class in its struggles in the Thirties. It undermined the legal recognition of the right of labor to organize and strike.

Now social security, the second big prize won by the workers two decades ago is under attack. The Big Business government is trying to convert it into an instrument of political pressure.

"Dissent and starve," the capitalists say. "Conform and you may get the old-age insurance, payment for which was taken out of your wages when you were young."

A Case of Justified Alarm

"This," said Lenin in the early 1920's, "is the epoch of imperialist wars, proletarian revolutions and colonial uprisings." The lead editorial in the Dec. 21 N. Y. Times defines the world line-ups in virtually similar terms, although the Times employs euphemisms, whereas Lenin was a plain speaker.

"The rioting in Jordan against the Baghdad Pact," says the Times, ". . . is indicative of a deep-rooted malaise that has varying effects from Morocco on the Atlantic Ocean through the Sudan in Africa and the Near East with Egypt, Syria and Jordan to Afghanistan. All these countries are Moslem; all are a prey to the contemporary disease of nationalism. . .

"For all its follies and weaknesses Western civiliaztion has its elements of greatness and it is worth fighting for. The two great primary enemies of this way of life are nationalism and communism, which work together in areas like the Middle East.

"The two movements are unholy allies, simply because the Communists since Lenin's time have seen the tactical advantage of supporting nationalism, which is anti-white in Asia, anti-colonial in the Middle East and Africa and anti-Yankee in Latin America.

"It is in all cases destructive because it is xenophobic (unreasonably fearful of foreigners) and in that respect it defeats its own very laudable purposes."

Imperialism — that is, the rule of Big Business in the U.S., England, France and a very few other leading capitalist countries and its subjugation of the rest of the capitalist world — this is what the N. Y. Times really clings to in "Western civilization."

And it is certainly true that the two primary enemies of imperialism are "communism" and "nationalism" — that is, the working class movement for socialism in the advanced countries and the national independence struggle in economically backward lands.

These two movements are indeed allies because they are linked in the fight against the main exploitive and oppressive force in the world — the system of imperialism headed by U.S. Big Business.

The Times and the revolutionary socialists define the line-ups in the world in the same way.

What divides them is only the question of which side they are on. The Times upholds imperialism and calls this the defense of "Western civilization." The revolutionary socialists — the Militant among them — take their stand on the side of the world working class and the colonial masses, whose victory over imperialism alone can assure the forward march of modern civilization.

An Appeal We Welcome

On Dec. 21, forty-six noted public figures sent a petition to Pres. Eisenhower for a "Christmas amnesty" for Communist Party leaders convicted under the Smith Act. The 46 include Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Dean John C. Bennett of Union Theological Seminary; Lewis Mumford, noted author; Norman Thomas; Elmer Rice, playwright; Chaplain John M. Krumm, of Columbia University; Stephen G. Cary, secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia; Henry Steele Commager, Columbia University; and A. J. Muste, secretary emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

The 46 asked that the president commute "the sentences of 16 men and women now in prison to time already served" and that 180 cases now awaiting trial or outcome of appeals be postponed.

"Those who present this petition," the 46 stated, "are in fundamental disagreement with the philosophy of the Communist party and with essential elements in its program and are motivated in their present action by their attachment to the democratic way of life."

The stand taken by the 46 is a welcome development, all the more so because it upholds on principle the right of the Communist Party to freedom of speech. It was on this basis that the Militant denounced all indictments or convictions of CP members and leaders, from the 11 witch-hunt victims in the 1949 trials to those now on trial in Cleveland.

While defending the civil liberties of the Communist Party, we proclaimed our fundamental difference with its program. We also scored the continued refusal of the Stalinist leaders to defend the democratic rights of the Socialist Workers Party, 18 of whose leading members had been the first victims of the Smith Act in 1941.

Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. President in 1948 and 1952 — himself imprisoned under the Smith Act for his socialist opposition to World War II — covered the 1949 trial for the Militant and warned that organized labor must rally to the defense of the Stalinists or the precedent of their conviction would ultimately be used as an instrument of union-busting policy. In the 1952 campaign, he and the SWP's vice-presidential candidate, Myra Tanner Weiss, made defense of the civil liberties of the Communist Party a main point in their radio and TV speeches.

For many years the Militant and the Socialist Workers Party were virtually alone in campaigning for defense of all witch-hunt victims and in advocating unity of action among all civil liberties supporters. By staking out in effect a similar line of principle at the present time, the petition of the 46 marks an important step forward in the battle against the witch hunters.

The Struggle for Negro Equality
By SAUNDERS & PARKER
48 pp. . . 10 cents
PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.
Catalogue on Request

Why French Stalinists Slandered Marty

By Daniel Roberts

The French Communist Party is one of the largest and most important outside of the Soviet bloc. Tens of thousands of workers adhere to it because they want to fight for socialism. Millions of the most class-conscious French workers vote for it. What they are seeking is the road to revolutionary action.

Yet the policy pursued by the party officialdom is anything but revolutionary. In the last 11 years, France has been in a revolutionary crisis on two occasions — in 1944-45 at the end of the European phase of World War II and again in August 1953, when four million French workers went on general strike. The country has been in continuous political crisis in these 11 years, with colonial wars in Indochina and North Africa eating into the French people's living standards already undermined by World War II.

What has maintained French capitalism in power under those conditions has been above all the Stalinist leadership of the French CP, whose counter-revolutionary, class-collaborationist policy derailed the revolutionary drive of the French working class.

This treacherous course pursued under the orders of the Kremlin and serving the interests of the capitalist class was imposed upon thousands of CP militants by bureaucratic edict, without the possibility on their part to discuss or alter the line.

What they really think about the policies pursued by Thorez, Duclos, Mauvais, Frachon and the other Stalinist functionaries has finally been set forth in print in **L'Affaire Marty (The Marty Case)** published last Spring in Paris.

POPULAR WITH WORKERS

Who is Marty? Up to 1952, he had ranked third in the French Communist Party hierarchy, his name always appearing right after those of Maurice Thorez and Jacques Duclos. Unlike these two consummate bureaucrats, however, Marty enjoyed immense popularity with the French working class. To tens of thousands of Communist Party worker militants, he symbolized revolutionary action.

He earned his popularity in 1919 as a leader of the Black Sea mutiny of the French fleet. This great struggle was part of the revolt of all French expeditionary forces — land and sea — employed in an international "police action" against the newly created Soviet state. The revolt was successful in stopping the French intervention.

But countless soldiers, sailors and workers who supported them in France endured heavy punishment for their heroic action. Marty was singled out for especially harsh treatment. In 1922, when the French government was forced by a mass campaign conducted by the Communist Party to grant an amnesty to all sailors imprisoned because of their part in the Black Sea revolt, the Admiralty threatened to resign if Marty was included. He had to suffer torture and hardships of prison for another year, before the redoubled efforts of the French working class finally secured his release.

PROLETARIAN FIGHTER

He joined the French CP shortly before he left prison and thereafter always figured in the thick of working-class action. His whole life was lived in the proletarian struggle, virtually from birth, for his father had been a fighter in the Paris Commune in 1870, and raised Andre Marty in its traditions.

In May 1952 the French CP leadership began a typical Stalinist campaign of vilification against Marty. From this they passed to a frame-up trial and expulsion in December 1952. They accused him of "anti-party," "anti-Soviet" factional activity verging on "Trotskyism" with Charles Tillon, who also was subject to character assassination and to expulsion from the party's Central Committee.

During World War II, Tillon headed the resistance movement in France, whose militants in the maquis generally stood under the leadership of the Communist Party. He was chief of the Paris insurrection that broke out on August 19, 1944 against the Nazi occupation troops and their French collaborators. Because of his role in the resistance movement, Tillon also enjoyed great personal popularity with the CP militants.

"It is clear," wrote Morris Stein in the Jan. 19, 1953 Militant, "that they (Marty and Tillon) were selected for the purge because by their record they are the two men in the French Communist Party best symbolizing militant struggle and revolutionary zeal . . . What better way for the Stalinists to outlaw revolutionary thought than by crucifying the men who to them symbolize revolutionary action?"

For two years after his expulsion Marty remained silent, while the Stalinist press piled slander upon calumny. In September 1952 the Political Bureau of the CP forbade him to speak or write on any topic. And following his expulsion, the 66-year-old Marty was too physically ill and too overwhelmed by the campaign against him to defend himself. This militant who had endured seven years of prison for his part in the Black Sea revolt—including an inhumanly long stretch in solitary confinement—reveals that the ordeal the Stalinist leaders put him through was the most severe in his life.

In **The Marty Case**, he finally speaks up in his defense, placing his expulsion in its political context. He reviews the course of French politics since 1944-45 and tells about the cheated hopes of the Communist Party militants. He voices their anger in the phrase "They are still there!"—they, referring to the French capitalist exploiters.

Recalling the slogan of the Stalinist leadership in 1945 that the first duty of the French workers is to "produce, produce, produce," Marty declares that thanks to this course never has the lust for profits and therefore superexploitation achieved such amplitude in France as since the liberation in 1944.

"It is because I have not changed, because I never wanted to change, that is, walk arm in arm with the worst enemies of the working class, that they wanted to kill me politically. It is because . . . I maintain that it is always necessary to start from the class interest of the French working class and to pose revolutionary perspectives that the abominable campaign was mounted against me. . . . It is therefore the orientation of the entire French working class movement that is involved in my modest case."

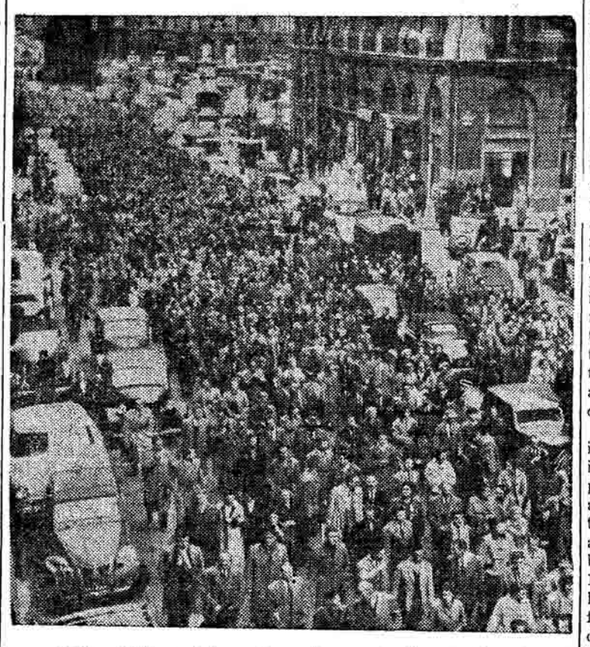
In order to suppress the revolutionary perspectives, the Stalinist bureaucrats also found it necessary to slander the revolutionary past. That is why, shortly after Marty's expulsion, L'Humanite, newspaper of the French CP, declared that he had been a police agent as far back as 1919 in the thick of the Black Sea rebellion. The maligners based themselves on the 1919 inventions — exposed at the time by the CP — of France's reactionary gutter sheet, L'Action Francaise.

As if to underscore their solidarity with the French capitalist class, the Stalinist leaders published their slander five days after the government tried to take away Marty's immunity as a deputy to the National Assembly on the grounds that in the 1949 edition of his book, **The Black Sea Revolt**, he had set forth "what they (the rebels) did to stop the war against the Soviets." (L'Humanite, of course, remained silent before the capitalist government's attack on Marty's civil rights.)

The Black Sea revolt and Marty's role in it have justly been considered among the most heroic displays of solidarity in the history of the international working-class movement. Marty is a thousand times right when he declares, "How shameful it is for a working-class party to have leaders who try by infamous slanders to bury forever not me, but above all the example of a great working-class movement in France, which broke up aggression by the French army — at that time the most powerful army in the world — against the young Soviet republic."

(First of a series on **The Marty Case.**)

Typical French Strike



Some 3,000 postal workers tie up traffic at the Place Vendome as they march in Paris. Demanding higher wages, they staged a 24-hour protest strike against wage policies of Premier Mendes-France. The strike, which occurred last year, illustrates the militant tendencies of the French workers.

...L. A. Ousts

(Continued from page 1)

insults, including the spreading of human filth on their bed linen, meted out to the Negro firemen who had been transferred.

Alderson, who apparently was convinced the board would take no action against him regardless of provocation, seemed somewhat stunned when he was suspended. The next day, however, he stoutly declared he had "done nothing" to deserve such treatment, and said he would appeal the action to a Board of Rights so that he could be exonerated and reinstated for "24 hours."

"INTENDED TO RETIRE"

Previously he had made a public announcement that he intended to retire shortly after January 1, but then had backtracked and said he would retire if he was satisfied with the selection of the new chief.

The firing of Alderson, although it brings with it no immediate change in the hard-and-fast segregation that exists in the city's Fire Department, is a resounding victory for the NAACP and the Negro press which has kept up a steady drumfire against Alderson and his policies. The suspension of the heretofore all-powerful chief serves notice on his underlings that they must get on with the task of integration or suffer a similar fate.

Alderson's shameful actions were so consistently and effectively publicized by the Negro press that the dailies could no longer ignore the issue, and the department's segregation policies have been front page, banner news for months.

On the day of the suspension, two of the dailies not only carried banner stories and full coverage, but in addition carried front-page editorials declaring stoutly that his removal was a welcome action, long overdue.

Dowson, Stanton Get Encouraging Vote in Toronto Electoral Contest

TORONTO, Canada — On Monday, Dec. 5, 2,374 Toronto workers went to the polls and cast their ballots for Dowson; 3,863 cast their ballots for Stanton. Dowson, as mayoralty candidate and Stanton, as Board of Control candidate were sponsored by the newly formed Socialist Educational League.

This vote was rolled up in the face of an almost total capitalist press blackout and a treacherous stab in the back by the provincial secretary of the Ontario Co-operative Commonwelth Federation (CCF) and Board of Control candidate, Ford Brand, against the Dowson-Stanton candidatures.

The election was a victory right down the line for the Tory administration. The only bright spot was the inspiring, hard-hitting, socialist campaign conducted against enormous odds by the Socialist Educational League.

Only 29% of the 300,000 who qualify for the franchise despite reactionary property restrictions cast their ballots. This is 5% less than last year and the lowest in almost a decade. The boss parties finally jammed through the two-year term, on this their seventh attempt in 15 years, with a majority of 14,336. Over 18,000 voters did not cast a ballot on the question.

Ford Brand, endorsed by the CCF and both labor councils, whose opportunism won him the support of the three capitalist dailies and wide support in the most conservative sections of the city, headed the Board of Control poll again but his vote dropped almost 15%.

Harry Hunter, candidate of the Labor Progressive Party (Stalinist), again in the campaign for one of the four Board of Control seats, saw his vote cut by more than a third to 9,498 votes.

CCF POLICY

The biggest single factor in the precipitous decline in the labor vote was the failure of the leadership of the CCF to present a slate of labor candidates or even anything remotely resembling one.

In the nine wards that the city is divided into for the election of councillors, the CCF presented one candidate in two of them and two in another. The other six wards, the most populous in the city had no CCF councillor candidates. This year saw none of these four campaigns with the party label.

The Stalinists, running a broader list than the CCF, also capitulated to the boss-inspired lie that municipal politics are non-partisan with Hunter going so far as to protest being called an LPPer.

With the failure of the CCF leadership to fill in the gap, the SEL ran Dowson as labor's candidate for mayor and Stanton as labor's candidate for one of the two open seats on the Board of Control.

Not at all embarrassed by their failure to meet their political responsibilities to labor, the CCF openly attacked Dowson and Stanton. Crawling before the boss administration, they took it upon themselves to dissociate the CCF and labor as a movement from the Dowson-Stanton candidatures.

On four different occasions Brand did so, once in his capacity as acting mayor before the assembled delegates of the Ontario Federation of Labor convention. All capitalist papers on the Saturday before the Monday election carried a letter from the provincial secretary of the Ontario CCF repeating many of the lies framed to expel Trotskyists and other socialists last spring from the Ontario section.

EFFECTIVE CAMPAIGN

But the SEL put up an inspiring campaign against all these odds. Dowson and Stanton dealt with the real issues confronting the electorate and advanced the socialist solution. This campaign was much more effective than those conducted several years ago by the now dissolved Revolutionary Workers Party behind Dowson for mayor, although then, in 1949, fresh from sweeping the CCF into office in three quarters of the Toronto provincial seats, the workers went on to roll up 23,645 votes for Dowson.

Almost 40,000 copies of the first issue of the Workers Vanguard carrying the candidates' program were distributed door to door in the working-class areas. Limited canvassing was done. Both Dowson and Stanton spoke on two major Toronto radio stations while the returns were coming in and Dowson spoke on an important program over another major station.

Now the Socialist Educational League, armed with the Workers Vanguard, is preparing to capitalize on the excellent work done in the election campaign.

World Events

CHILEAN COPPER MINERS and office workers closed down three major mines owned by Anaconda and Kennecott companies, both U.S. firms. Sixteen thousand are on strike demanding changes in a statute governing relations between the companies and the workers. One provision calls for reduction in the number of unions. This government interference in union affairs is protested by the 13 unions on strike. On Dec. 15, the Chilean government declared martial law in districts where struck mines and plants are located and arbitrarily decreed that the workers must return to their jobs.

* * *

IN GUATEMALA, leaders of 24 unions, organized in the Autonomous Labor Federation have renewed their demand on President Castillo Armas to abolish the National Defense Committee Against Communism, a secret body which passes on union officials and determines whether union bodies are to be legalized or not. The labor leaders charged that the committee keeps the unions in a continual state of anxiety by labeling some of them "Communist" on the strength of the slightest unsupported denunciations.

* * *

THE CANADIAN TRADES AND LABOR CONGRESS informed the government that it intended to work for a six-hour day and 30-hour week. It also demanded establishment of national health insurance.

* * *

SPANISH DICTATOR FRANCO declared on Dec. 15 that he would not permit the establishment of a democratic system of government in the Spanish zone of Morocco. "Precisely because we know and love the Moroccan people," he said, "we are in better position also to realize how disastrous it would be for their future and attainment and preservation of their independence" if political parties were permitted to contest before the electorate for government power. The next day Moroccan nationalists declared that Spain faced trouble unless she recognized Moroccan independence and unity "in the shortest possible time."

* * *

THE U.S. imported more from the Soviet Union than it exported to that country in the three months from July 1 to Sept. 30, according to the 33rd quarterly report prepared for Congress by Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks. The U.S. purchased $16 million of Soviet bloc goods and sold only $1 million worth. With almost all other countries of the world, the U.S. has either a favorable balance of trade or of payments or both.

* * *

IN DAMASCUS, SYRIA about 50,000 people marched behind armored cars bearing coffins with the victims of a recent Israeli attack on a Syrian frontier post. According to the Dec. 14 N.Y. Times, about 100,000 Syrians lined the streets. Demonstrators paraded silently carrying banners emblazoned "Revenge."

* * *

THE CHIANG KAI-SHEK REGIME'S standing is aptly described in Thomas J. Hamilton's Dec. 4 N.Y. Times article: "One sign of the short life expectancy of Nationalist China in the United Nations is the fact that it stands completely alone in the General Assembly. It has been excluded from the Asian-Arab caucus, just as it was excluded from the Bandung conference; and Asian delegates keep talking about the necessity of providing Asia with a seat on the Security Council as though Nationalist China were a figment of the imagination."

* * *

THE ALGERIAN NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT is issuing a newspaper in French called Resistance Algerienne (Algerian Resistance). Its second issue, dated Nov. 26 reports that the general strike call issued for Nov. 1 by the National Liberation Front was observed everywhere in the Arab communities with a discipline that worried the French authorities. Resistance Algerienne quotes a leading French newspaper as saying that "This is the first time in a very long period that instructions to strike and remain calm have been observed with such unanimity and discipline . . . It would indicate that great solidarity exists between the population and the rebels."

* * *

IN INDONESIA on Dec. 15, a group of 60 paratroopers from an honor guard prevented swearing in of Vice-Air Commodore Sujono, an appointee of Premier Harahap listed as pro-West. The paratroopers stepped forth during the ceremony with Sten guns at the ready shouting "We protest!" The paratroopers have the backing of air force commanders, who in turn have the backing of President Sukarno. According to the Nov. 12 Christian Science Monitor, the armed forces are the mainstay of the present regime and are playing an ever more active role in Indonesian politics. Different factions within the armed forces reflect conflicts among the nationalist parties.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XIX — MONDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1955 — NUMBER 52

Jim Crow Held Main Issue in Braden Case

FRANKFORT, KY., Dec. 9 — Attorneys for Carl Braden today filed their brief in the Kentucky Court of Appeals challenging his conviction under the Kentucky sedition law. In pressing the attack on the law, Braden's attorneys said that the main issue in the case was the problem of desegregation and not sedition.

"The defendant has been indicted and convicted not because he attacked the Constitution but because he tried to give meaning to the equalitarian principles which it embodies," the brief declared.

PRISON TERM OF 15 YEARS

It points out that Braden was given 15 years in prison after he and his wife helped a Negro couple, Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Wade IV, to buy a home in a Louisville suburb where no Negroes had lived before. The house was dynamited in June, 1954, and a grand jury indicted Braden, his wife, and five other white persons who had helped the Wades.

The brief was filed by Louis Lusky, designated by the American Civil Liberties Union to represent Braden on appeal, and Robert W. Zollinger, who was Braden's chief counsel at his trial in Criminal Court at Louisville last December. Both attorneys are of Louisville.

Commenting on the filing of the brief, Patrick Murphy Malin, the ACLU's executive director in New York City, stated that the ACLU had "asked Lusky to serve as co-counsel on appeal because of its strong belief that important questions of free speech and due process are raised in this test of the state sedition statute."

The attorneys emphasize the absence of any proof that Braden personally advocated sedition, pointing out that the trial judge withdrew this charge from the jury's consideration because there was no evidence to support it. The only questions submitted to the jury were whether Braden had had contact with seditious organizations or had possessed seditious books.

NO PROOF

The brief contends that it was unconstitutional to let the jury find Braden guilty without proof of wrongful purpose on his part. It says the state and federal constitutions "forbid the imputation of guilt by association. A man can be punished only for his own misdeeds."

Lusky and Zollinger object to the admission of evidence of the house purchase, which they said had nothing to do with sedition but probably accounted for the verdict. "The sentence in the present case can only have resulted from the jury's passionate disapproval of the defendant's lawful purchase of the Wade house."

They also object to evidence about the dynamiting of Wade's home, which they say invited the jury "to punish the defendant for a bombing he did not cause, simply because the prosecution had been unable to ascertain who did cause it." The brief contends that the Kentucky sedition statute "was not intended as a deterrent to peaceable experiment in controversial social fields." It adds:

"Much as we may dislike those who hold up the mirror to the community and remind us that our ideals of justice and tolerance and equality are not yet fully realized in actual practice, we must beware the danger of making the way of the critic too hazardous. If he demands a standard of performance which is presently beyond the legal methods, his illegal acts should be punished. But if his methods are lawful we must not silence him because we dislike his views. And we must not punish him because lawless means are used to oppose him.

"The best, and perhaps the only, hope of a sane and wholesome solution to such problems as racial integration is to allow peaceable experimentation of the sort the Wades attempted. To help them attempt it, as the defendant did, is not a crime."

FREEDOM OF PRESS

Lusky and Zollinger also see a threat to freedom of the press in the cross-examination of Braden about a news story he had written. Braden was formerly labor reporter for the Cincinnati Enquirer and the Louisville Times. At the time of his conviction he was a copy editor for the Louisville Courier-Journal and was active in labor and interracial affairs.

CARL BRADEN

"The prosecution invited the jury to convict him because of lack of optimism displayed in a factual report on unemployment in the Louisville area, which he had written as a news service correspondent in 1948," the brief said. "No evidence was ever offered to show that the news story (which certainly did not advocate criminal syndicalism or sedition) was false in any respect, or that the defendant believed it to be untrue. The court, by ruling that its truth or falsity was immaterial, struck a far-reaching blow at freedom of the press."

The brief also contends that the indictment was so vague that no adequate defense could be offered; that the court's instructions to the jury failed to define the offenses in any understandable way, and that the terms of the sedition statute are so indefinite "that men of common intelligence must guess as to its meaning and differ as to its application."

The attorneys are also critical of the prosecution's use of an affidavit by Braden's 15-year-old foster daughter, Sonia, to obtain information about books in his home. "The blood runs cold at the thought that, in America, infant children can be encouraged or permitted to inform against their parents and foster parents, and unlock the doors of their home to official search," the brief said.

Two searches made of the Bradens' home after their indictment are also attacked on several other grounds. The attorneys stress that books and papers seized elsewhere got mixed with Braden's books and were introduced in evidence against him. They ascribe this to carelessness in handling the hundreds of books and papers seized at Braden's home and at the homes of other defendants in the case. The prosecution charged that Braden was a member of the Communist Party. He denied it from the witness stand.

The Negro Struggle

By George Lavan

A Victory and a Defeat in the Irvin Case

Walter Lee Irvin's death sentence has been commuted to life imprisonment. This is both a victory and a defeat for the Negro struggle. It is a victory in that protests have saved Irvin from the hands of Florida's racist executioners. It is a defeat in that Irvin, an innocent victim of a Jim Crow frame-up, faces a life in prison.

Irvin is a survivor of the infamous Groveland or "Little Scottsboro" case. The background of this case was labor unrest in a paper mill in Lake County, Florida, where the brutal racist, Willis V. McCall, is sheriff. Since the mill workers involved were almost all Negro, the anti-labor forces decided to smash the labor unrest by "putting the Negro workers in their place." The opportunity soon appeared, or was manufactured, in the form of a phony rape accusation by a white woman. As if by prearranged signal, white gangs invaded the Negro community, beating people, looting and burning.

The 400 Negro residents of Groveland were forced to flee to the woods and swamps for several days. The National Guard chased out those who tried to return to what remained of their homes and farms.

Deputized vigilantes killed a Negro youth and then said he was one of the guilty parties. A "trial" of Walter Lee Irvin and Samuel Shepherd was held. Though the prosecution refused to call the physician who examined the white woman immediately after the alleged rape, the lily-white jury promptly passed death sentences on Irvin and Shepherd.

When the U.S. Supreme Court declared the trial unfair and ordered a new one, Sheriff McCall undertook to overrule the high court with his pistols. On the way to the new trial he stopped his car, ordered Irvin and Shepherd, who were handcuffed, out on the roadside and shot them in cold blood. Shepherd was killed and Irvin appeared dead but managed to recover. Sheriff McCall blustered that they had tried to escape. He was never punished.

A second Jim Crow trial brought another death sentence for Irvin. Arrested in 1949 at the age of 21, he has spent six years in the death house. Now he faces life in Florida's Jim Crow prison hell-holes. He, like the Ingram family, are hostages held in Southern prisons by the racists. The Negro people and labor must never forget their torment and must do everything possible to speed the day of their liberation.

Too cowardly to free Irvin, liberal Gov. Collins even tried to make his commutation acceptable to the white supremacists by a smear attack on the NAACP. In his commutation recommendation he declared that the NAACP intervened in cases in the South not because the parties involved were innocent but merely because they were colored.

This vicious lie is simply another form of the basic premise of the South's Jim Crow code of justice: convict prisoners not on the basis of their innocence or guilt but on the basis of their color.

"No Money Down"

By Roy Gale

"Step right up, folks, for the All-American Gadget. You can take this fine gadget home for no money down and just a few cents a week."

Who is sucker enough not to take advantage of this generous offer?

And after you've bought the All-American Gadget there are still other gadgets that catch your eye and ear. Gadgets the hucksters make you think you ought to have. Gadgets with glamour and glitter. Gadgets to take the grind out of daily living, to give you more leisure time. So you are wheedled, cajoled, and bribed with offers of free gifts. And so you buy.

After the first plunge into debt the water begins to feel fine. You try it again. The habit forms. Everything you need can be bought on that unique American plan of "no money down and umpteen weeks to pay."

Don't worry about getting more than you can pay for. American free enterprise has an answer for every emergency. All you have to do is consult one of these new and energetic young men known as "debt pro-raters."

In this booming economy a new and booming business has sprung up. It caters especially to those who have committed themselves to more payments than they can reasonably handle. When you have missed a few payments and the creditors are snapping at your heels, and you stand to lose all your gadgets and more besides, the debt pro-rater steps into the breach to save you — for a small fee of course. To be exact 12%.

If you think 12% is just an added burden to what you already owe just think of the service you get. The debt pro-rater takes over your income and distributes it between you and your creditors.

He tells you how many shows you can see, whether Johnny can have that new pair of shoes, how often you can have meat on the table and how often you must get along with "substitute" dishes. From now until you're in the clear, the debt pro-rater makes Old Mother Hubbard's cupboard look like a cornucopia to you.

Everybody is happy. Your creditors know the pro-rater will see they get paid in full. The pro-rater gets his 12%. And you can again start thinking about getting the latest wonderful gadget for no money down and umpteen weeks to pay.

Isn't it wonderful to live in this best of all possible worlds?

Life Among the Heathens

A 71-year-old Negro woman, Miss Bertha Perry, was thrown out of a white Baptist church in Wake Forest, N. C., Dec. 4. The Carolina Times gives the following account of the incident:

"This soft-spoken, pleasant little lady, a wisp of womanhood at 89 pounds, had gone to the church to ask what should be done about a sign directing visitors to the church which had been removed from its place and put in her back yard.

"But before she could explain her mission, she was grabbed by one of the members, dragged to the door and pushed down the front steps with the warning never to come back there again.

" 'If you were a man, I'd knock you down. I wish you were a man; I'd kill you,' the bouncer threatened as she stood in the church yeard, Miss Perry said.

"The incident occurred after the end of the church's service Sunday. Miss Perry . . . arrived at the church during the morning services. She occupied a seat about four rows from the front and remained throughout the service.

"After the church's minister, Rev. Dwight Watts, finished his sermon on 'Cleansing the Temple,' she was given an audience with him. But before she could explain the purpose of her visit, someone of the worshippers who had lingered after the services asked, 'Is she colored?' 'Yeah she's colored, Yeah she's colored,' a woman shouted.

"At this point, a man of about 38 grabbed her by the arm and began knocking her forward. Someone called, 'Tell her. . .'

" 'Tell her nothing,' the bouncer said, 'she's going to get out of here.'

"When they reached the front steps, a woman cried, 'Don't hurt her,' but the bouncer pushed her into the yard, almost causing her to lose her balance, Miss Perry said.

"In the church yard the bouncer warned, 'You better get away from here and never come back.'

" 'Yeah, this isn't government property, this is a private church,' boomed another voice from the small crowd which had gathered outside.

" 'Are you a Christian?' Miss Perry asked the bouncer. At this he stepped back a pace or two, she said. She repeated the question and a man from the crowd asked if she were a Christian. When she replied, 'Yes,' he said she would not have come here if she had been.

" 'You're just snooping around,' the man said. Then the pastor came outside and told her to leave and not come back.

"Miss Perry said that as she walked down the highway back home, the churchgoers rode by in their cars, sneering at her and shouting insults until she finally turned off at the home of a nearby farmer who drove her home.

"Miss Perry, a frail little woman with white hair and a fair complexion, said she was not frightened by the attack on her person and revealed that she had received threatening calls and letters before because of her militant work in helping to get civic improvements for the Negroes of Wake Forest.

Miss Perry, a social worker and retired school teacher, is herself very religious. She said, "I only pitied them, for they acted like heathens."

Subscribe!

Start your subscription now. Clip the coupon and mail it in today. Send $1.50 for six months subscription or $3 for a full year to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Name .....

Street ..... Zone .....

City ..... State .....

☐ $1.50 Six months ☐ $3.00 Full year

☐ New ☐ Renewal

Our Readers Take the Floor

Founding Fathers' Religious Views

Editor:

An article to the editor by a reader of the Minneapolis Star advocated "stamping out atheism" because it was opposed to the philosophy of our founding fathers.

It so happens that my grandfather on my mother's side was Benjamin Allen, who was a descendant of General Ethan Allen, the Green Mountain Rebel, in our War for Independence.

Ethan Allen wrote the first militantly deistic work by an American.

In a letter to the editor I pointed this out and, also, that Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Paine, etc., were all deists and expressed themselves very clearly in their writings.

I don't know how much schooling this individual had, who surmised that our illustrious forefathers were deeply religious, but he certainly was not acquainted with the philosophy of the greatest leaders this country ever had.

Lincoln, for example, is portrayed as a deeply religious man and he may have been in his own charming way. Yet he was not a member of any religious group or sect. His observation was that "when he found a church which practised the brotherhood of man and not merely paid lip-service he would gladly join that church."

It would appear that our schools are not teaching the truth, or the gentleman who advocated stamping out atheism would have been enlightened.

It appears that is something that is Un-American and should not be a part of the educational process. The editor did not print my article. It would lead one to conclude that he didn't care to publicize the truth either.

We wonder just how far this suppression of the truth extends in our schools, newspapers, etc. It isn't any wonder that youth is in revolt — doubting, suspicious, disbelieving, distrustful and disdainful of authority.

Paul Benjamin Hurley
Minneapolis, Minn.

* * *

Cultural Report From Baltimore

Editor:

For more than a month, Baltimore and Baltimore County have been the subjects of "investigations." The starting place was the Baltimore city investigation of bar-sitter girls (known as B-girls), women on the payroll of bars for the purpose of enticing men to drink more and to buy them drinks. This situation has been in existence for many years, and few officials in the city shed tears for the victims of this practice. Nationwide magazines, however, probably scandalmongers, ran stories about the practice.

Even if the police hadn't known about the racket, and opinion here is that they did, it would be hard to prove that the girls were employed by bars and not on their own. So, almost immediately, it was "discovered" that there were big-time gambling rackets in town. Again it is hard to see how it could have been a secret. The city police department was reorganized as a result, but it was emphasized that they were in no way implicated.

But County police were not spared so easily. State police swooped down on the headquarters of a numbers-racket in the county that obviously was protected. County police are in hot water, but they have countered by claiming that state police have always been assigned to state highways only, and cry "politics."

I figured that despite the publicity few issues would be solved. The outcome: the B-girls are going to be watched, and while severe punishment has been promised, a hush-up is more likely. Thrown in for good measure for mid-Victorians, the strip-tease entertainers (who were in no way on trial) are to wear prescribed non-revealing garments — probably potato sacks and Mother Hubbards.

Fortunately for the audiences, there is money in entertainment, and though I agree with the worker who said to me, "All they want us to do is eat and sleep and work," the money involved will ease things a lot, especially if the workers are allowed to pay higher prices. Already the merchants of the block of the burlesque theaters in town, restaurants and bars have decided to get favorable publicity for the area, known as "the Block," by advertising it as the Great White Way. Well, you can't say nothing has happened!

S. L.
Baltimore, Md.

* * *

The New KKK

Editor:

Dr. Theodore Howard spoke here before a rally attended by 500 people, Sunday, Dec. 4, at the Bethany Baptist Church. The rally was sponsored by the N. J. Medical Society [a branch of the National Medical Association, the organization of Negro physicians headed by Dr. Howard. — Ed.]

The two main themes of the talk were the right of the Southern Negro to vote in state and federal elections and integration of the schools. The fact that Negroes are being denied their most sacred birthright, namely, the right to vote, is a tragic reality.

Dr. Howard pointed out in his talk how every Negro, who has the audacity to attempt to place his name upon the voting rolls, is subjected to a combination of physical terror and economic strangulation.

He traced the history of racism in the South up to the forming of the White Citizens Councils in September 1954. He attempted to show that the Citizens Councils are in reality the successors to the old KKK. The members of the Councils are the so-called leading people in each community — these members in reality wear invisible hoods.

He told one rather humorous story to illustrate a point: One day a returning Korean War veteran went in to see the circuit court clerk for his voting district, a man for whom he had previously worked. The Negro veteran's name was George and the clerk's, Smith. They talked for a while about local conditions, until Smith finally said, "George, what can I do for you?"

"Well," George said, "I want to register to vote, Mr. Smith."

To put it mildly, Smith was shocked. He said "George, why do you want to bother about such things as voting?" and "besides the test is so hard I don't see how you could pass it."

George replied: "Mr. Smith, I want to try the test to vote. What is the test?"

Smith said the test consisted of reciting the 14th Amendment to the federal Constitution. Then he looked around the room and said, "There are only the two of us here, so go ahead."

George started off: "Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent. . ."

With that Smith said: "That's enough George, that's the 14th Amendment."

Dr. Howard related how two close friends of his were shot down by members of the White Citizens Councils. The two were Rev. George W. Lee and Gus Courts, one killed and the other severely wounded.

He declared that one of the avowed objectives of the Councils is to drive at least half a million Negroes out of Mississippi. The population of the state now is a million and a quarter whites and 986,000 Negroes.

As to integration of schools, that is also being resisted by both the White Citizens Councils and by the local and state governments. Dr. Howard said that the Governor of Mississippi, Paul White, called two special sessions of the state legislature in order to circumvent the Supreme Court decision. Gov. White has also tried to force the Negro people of the state to refuse integration. He has failed to accomplish anything along that line.

Dr. Howard said that the Till murder and the failure to convict the men who committed the crime has stirred the entire Negro community of Mississippi to a cold anger. He closed his talk on the theme of courage for all Negroes and asked that Negroes in the North and West support the continuing fight of the Southern Negro. Dr. Howard is the leader of the all-Negro town of Mound Bayou, Mississippi.

Richard Douglas
Newark, N. J.

Help and Praise

Editor:

I am sending a package of 40 items for the New York bazaar, hoping it will help you a little in the noble work you do for socialism and Marxian education. We need education and sincere instructors, particularly now when progress is going at such high speed — the industrial revolution which results in mass production, specialization and division of labor, automation and so forth.

All these are paving the way to establishment of the cooperative commonwealth, which may bring not only economic security to all who work, but it will also bring equality in human welfare, and lasting peace to all mankind. Your education in Marxism is not only setting the fashion for a new era, but it is also adjusting the masses.

It is preparing the working class, enabling them to get nearer to the goal and to know how to manage an ideal system of society. Hence your education without prejudice is illuminating the course of socialism and is also the worthiest of all history.

I wish you moral and financial success at the bazaar. Please accept my small donation. Yours for peace and good will.

Lillian Gold
New York, N. Y.

Detroit Strikers' Paper Replaces Boss Sheets

By William Bundy

DETROIT, Dec. 20 — Detroit's newspaper strike, which has closed down the city's three major papers during the lush pre-Christmas advertising season, rounds out its third week tomorrow. The only city-wide daily newspaper now on the stands is the Detroit Reporter, a full-sized eight-pager sponsored by the unions affected by the strike.

The 116 striking members of Stereotypers Local 9 were joined today by the 450 mailers employed by the three papers, the Times, the News, and the Free Press. The Mailers are affiliated with the International Typographical Union.

The strike, which has been 100% cent effective in stopping publication, began Dec. 1 when the stereotypers contract terminated, and the publishers refused to meet the union's demands for wages, overtime pay and craft conditions. Since then the contracts of the other 20 unions in the industry have also run out, but as of this date the mailers and stereotypers are the only newspaper workers technically on strike.

The publishers have demanded that the new contracts be written to expire in January instead of December. The Unions' bargaining position would be considerably weakened thereby, and they have insisted that if the dates are to be changed they be moved to October so that a long strike would be discouraged by the approach of the Christmas advertising rush.

In spite of the good position of the unions this year, however, the strike may turn out to be a long one. According to a union spokesman, the publishers have a 13-week strike insurance policy.

Although most of the 4,500 union members affected are "laid-off" and not "on strike," solidarity is being expressed in a unique and effective manner. All of the organized newspaper workers through their unions are sponsoring the Detroit Reporter, which is designed to replace the regular newspapers for the duration of the strike.

The Reporter is financed by the Newspaper Guild of Detroit and the Detroit Allied Printing Trade Council, and by advertising. Most of the large stores and corporations have refused to advertise in it (Chrysler is a notable exception), but many smaller businesses and stores catering to working-class trade use it regularly.

Using a small private printing plant and improvised editorial offices, the workers are putting out over 100,000 copies per edition. These are invariably sold out shortly after hitting the stands. The official price is seven cents a copy, but from time to time the black market on this much-in-demand commodity runs the price to two or three times that figure.

The Reporter has its shortcomings. It is only eight pages. It has no wire services, and therefore little national or international news. It has a small printing plant and limited finances.

In addition to these temporarily unavoidable technical difficulties the Reporter is journalistically disappointing. It maintains editorial neutrality in the strike, printing only news stories on it, and the statements of both sides. It tends toward cheap sensationalism, headlining crime stories as a rule. Apparently it is a little hard for the guild members to forget the bad habits they learn on their regular jobs.

In spite of its inadequacies, the Reporter sets a precedent in Detroit. For the first time in the history of this city the greatest medium for molding public opinion is not slanted against the union in a strike of a major industry.

The paper appeared only two days after the strike began, and in 16 issues it has become a household item in many Detroit homes. As the slogan under the masthead on one issue put it: "In Detroit Nearly Everybody Reads the Reporter. (What Else?)"